



THE LORD
COKE HIS
SPEECH AND
Charge.

With a Discoverie of the Abuses
and Corruption of Officers.



LONDON

Printed for *Christopher Pursett*, dwelling in Hol-
borne next Staple Inne at the signe of
Marie Magdalens Head 1607.

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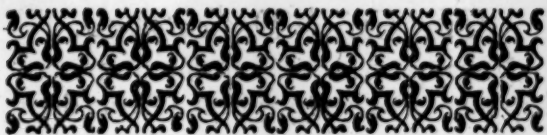
OF

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TO THE RIGHT
Honourable the Earle of Exceter,
Kinght of the most Honorable order of the
Garter : and one of the Lordes of his Ma-
jesties most Honorable priuie Counsel.

*R. R. wisheth all encrease of Honor
and endlesse happynesse.*



Ay it please your Hon.
The obseruation which
this world begets, may
teach experience truly
to report, that *Love* and
Charity are for the most
part growne so cold, e-
uen in the hoteft Sun-shine of our *Profession*,
as that despised *Pouertie*, though addicted
to the *Religious exercise* of endeuors cōmen-
dable, is in the best employment (vvhich
seemes vvith greateft *Fauor* to *smile* vpon his
Hope) so coldly recompenced, as that *poore*
vnspitied deiected miserable Pouertie knowes
neither *Meanes* nor *Place* how or vvhere to
warme it selfe.

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The Epistle Dedicatorie.

Vnhappie I, in this best time of greatest happines, who being as I am a Poore dispi- sed, hated, scorned, and vnrespected *Souldier* so vnfortunate as no commended meanes, though many vsed, with confirmation both of *loue* and *Loyaltie*, can bee of power from dispayers *Cusse*, to raise a *Spirit* drowned, in worst of misery : but were I not indeered vnto those by heauen made mine, who are indeed, to me, thē life, more deare from whō there is no way to run, vnlesse in me, selfe being be disolued, I would assueredly by heauens assistance in some honest *War* with vse of *Armes*, giue to my life so long as I should liue, a liuing maintenance : but novv *Immu- red* in my natie home, vnseperably *Toake* vvith leane-fac't pouertie. I haue experience to conclude that as it is most certaine *Pax procreat Bellum*, so is it no lesse true, that a confirmed *Peace*, *Non amat Fillios belli*, vntill she hath need of them.

In this estate not knowing how to mēd my selfe, *Religions* Lavve shall make my resolution honest, & though *Rerum conditio- nem mutare non possum*, yet I vvill haue povver to say *Hoc possum magnum sumere animam et viro fortis dignum*, vvith patience therefore
shal

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shal my grieved thoughts ioyfully be throwv
vpō my makers prouidēce by vvhose assistance
I vvill still resolute vvith a constant Bo-
sōe to persist in the prosecution of commen-
ded deeds, for this I know *Spes mea, Christo*
viuens, Est viuere vt semper viuam.

And thus, my Honorable Lord, hauing
breathed forth a sigh vnto the grace of your
compassionate respect: I humbly craue your
Honor vvill vouchsafe, to patronize in this
little booke (by me collected) not my ovne
but the vvords of that reuerend and learned
Judge, the Lord *Coke*, vvho at his coming to
Norwich, did at the *Assises* there vpon the
bench, deliuer a charge so exelent as that it
vvorthily deserues to be continued in per-
petuall memorie, vvich being thus produ-
sed to a publique viewv, I hope it shal vnto
our *Publicke weale* remaine a vvorthy perse-
dent, vvherein *Romes* champions may vvith
shame decerne their long continued shame-
full practices, *Puritans* & *Sismatickes* learne
to konve vvith vvhat *Iniustice* they di-
sturbe the happinesse of our most hap-
pie peace, our *Iustices*, inferior officers, *iurors*,
and Commons generally, may in this
booke find out commended *documents* and
instructions profitable as vvell directing howv

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

to gouern as to be gouerned; all which particulars the learned *Iudge* hath wisely handled with such plausible *Oratorical* wisdomes eloquence, as that vvhhen I heard him speake, I thought the *Poet* had iust cause to say, *Prospera lux orritur linguisq; animisq; fauete; Nam dicenda bono sunt bona verba die.* If therfore in this following worke my *Memorie* hath giuen a true instruction to my pen, I hope my labour shalbe accouëted profitable, vvhen it administers a *Publique* benefit.

Thus *Right Hon. Earle*, what I haue here into performed, together with my most vvvorthy selfe, I humbly referre vnto your *Honoured* wisdomes consideration, remaining as I will alwayes rest,

Your Honors in all humblenessse

of Dutie,

R. P.



The Lord Coke,
the Preface to his Charge
giuen at the Assises houlden
in Norwich, the fourth of
August. 1606.



*E*cause I perceiue the time
hath more swiftly passed then
I did expect: my strife and
labour with my selfe, hath bin
in my selfe to abreuiate what
I purpose to speak. And thogh
my speech shall principally bee directed to you of
the Iurie, which are sworne: yet for that I know
the scope and summe of my endeuours are solely
dedicated to Gods glory and my countries pub-
licke benefit, I hope that all my words shall ex-
tend vnto the generall good of all these here pre-
sent; vnto whom they are spoken. For I do pur-
pose in my course, as it were with a finger to point

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The Exordium.

out those growing and growing euils, which doe not only for the present time disturb & hurt our Publique Weale, but doe also strine, and that with a most dangerous force to deface, ruin, & vnterly subuert the Honors of our auncient name, & our now Great Brittaines Monarchie. But before the substance of my intended speech receiues his purposed begining, I think it not amisse first to begin with my selfe, and of my selfe to speake thus much.

There was a certaine young Romane, whose youth so directed his labours, with industrious care to attaine to knowledge by the reading and study of good letters, as that the Senat of Rome amongst theselues determined to make that yong man a Iudge: therby with honored reputatiō to recompence the trauels of his youth, & to giue encouragement vnto other Romane Citizens by their good endeuors to attain vnto like estate & credit in the gouernment of Romes Publique Weale.

It happened that shortly after the determination by the Consuls & Senat agreed vpon, the yong man vpon whom the place of a Iudge should be conferred, coming vnto the knowledge thereof, fell presently into a deepe consideration with himselfe about the force & Office of that worthy place wherunto he

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he should be called. And first considered that in his owne opinioⁿ, he was most vnfit : sufficic^{tly} to execute the substantiall and somtimes dangerous (though most comended duties) properly belöging to so great a dignity. For this yong Roman hauing many Friends, Kinsfolkes, & Allies, some of the of such Rancke & Place, in the authority of gouernmēt, as that their loue or hate could not aptly draw vnto it selfe a light or triual respect (amongst whö) this yong man thoght that coming to be a Iudge; time might unhappely produce s^oe such occation wherin his sentēce, in the place of Iudgemēt, might giue distaste, procure enemies, loose Friēds & gaine suspect of hatesull partialitie. From which corrupt & most imppoysoned euill, thogh this yong Roman did neuer so much desire, to stand cleared, yet Iudging amongst Friends, & Kinsfolks, he should assuredly (as he thought) by some detractors, be therof suspected.

The Romaine Cittizen hauing thus vnto himselfe presented diuers Obstricles and Objections, which could not in his owne since receiue sufficient contradiction, he resolved by no meanes to take vpö him the Place & person of a Iudge : but did vse all his Friendes and greatest power of meanes to perswade the Senate, to alter their determination concerning him and to

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bestow

The Exordium.

bestow so great an Office on some other, that might more worthily deserue the same.

Whilest this young man continued in a discontented passion, with purpose to desire some good aduice, he goeth vnto a faithfull friend of his, whom he acquainted with what the Senate purposed, and how loath he was to vndertake so high an Office as to be a Iudge. His friend vpon hearing the cause, presently concluded, that hee had great reason to shun the execution of such an Office, in the discharge whereof, so much danger rested. For (said he) *Caue ne sis Iudex inter Amicos* because *inter Amicos Inditare*, Amōgst friends to iudre, is a thing nothing more dāgerous. And therfore he cōstātly aduised, that in any wise he should refuse such honor, though offered vnto him: and rather be contented with a meane and priuat life, then in such a place to be employed: in which he should assuredly loose old friends, and get new enemies.

This yong man (though thus by his friend aduised, and in himselfe resolued neuer to take vpo him any such, as he accounted dangerous dignitie) yet whē he vnderstood, that the Senat would not be altered in their purpose, but that by them the place was decreed vnto him, he then determined.

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med with himselfe, to trie the counsell of some other friend, whose Judgement and Experience might beare some generall note, in directing the high affaires to the State belonging. And in this purpose he went vnto a certain Nobleman, whose prudent wisdom had oft bin vsed in businesse of most wrighty consequence: vnto whom, when he had laid open his mind, shewed his grieffe, and signified the Senats pleasure. The noble Gentleman with pleasant, yet graue alacritie of Spirit (seasoned with the soundnesse of a learned and vnderstanding wisdom) did most powerfully aduise, that this young man should cheerefully accept so worthy an Office, being so freely bestowed vpon him. And that he should by no means seeme to neglect the gracious clemencie of supreme authoritie: Nor in any sort account it dangerous amongst friends to iudge: for in the Office and execution of Iudgement, he that is a Iudge (*Definet esse Amicus*) ceaseth to be a friend: for in the manner of iudgement, no acquaintance, no griefes, no friends, no remembrance of fore-passed present, or hope of future friendship must direct the thoughts of him that is a Iudge. All that on iudgements seat is done, must be, because Iustice commaunds the doing thereof, and that with no other.

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other affection, but onely because it is just. And therefore said this Noble Gentleman vnto his friend, arme thy selfe, in the constancie of a conscientious vprightnes, and be noe longer loath to execute the Honorable Office of a Iudge, but in thy loue to Romes Common-wealth, dedicate thy laboures to her publique benefitt.

By the graue and sage aduice of that Honored Lord, this yong man was perswaded contrarie to his former purpose, with humble thankfulness to accept that Office, which the Senate without any meanes of his, was pleased freelie to bestowe vpon him; and yet generallie made shewe as if he ment the contrarie. and suddainlie preparing a sumptuous Feast, vnto which he enuited all his Friends, Kinsfolke, and familiar acquaintance, seeming that in regard he did rather choose to leaue his Countrie, then to take vpon him the Office of a Iudge: he had provided a Banquet or Feast, to Banquet with his Friendes before his departure: and in some solemne maner would take leaue of them all. Who being, as they thought, to this end assembled: did sorrowfully expect the occasion of their grieffe, by the departure of their friend; which when the yong man perceiued, he spake thus vnto them.

It

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It is true that I purpose as I must, to take my leaue of you all, and to be a stranger to my dearest friends, and neareſt Allies: I must forget all former friendships, and my most familiar Acquaintance, I must accompt as greatest strangers vnto me; Thus must I depart from you, & yet continue amongst you, for by the loue, power & authoritie of the Senate, I am appointed to be a Iudge, and in the seate of Justice, I must forget the remembrance of your former friendships and acquaintance, and onely in the person of a Iudge, with respect to keepe my conscience cleare, I must with equitie & vprightnes, iustly administer iustice vnto you all. And this is my cause, by the loue & fauour of my greatest maiſter King Iames, in whose royall and gratiuous disposition I am, (Sine precatioñe, vel precatio, without price or request, freely called vnto this great Office, by the fauour of my King) Vnto whose seruice, my life, and all I haue is humbly bound, by him, and by his gratiuous Clemency, I am thus sent to bee a Iudge amongst my Kinsfolkes and familiar friends, euen in bosome of my native Countrie.

I must therefore as the young Romaine did, take leaue of all former Acquaintance, & do
that

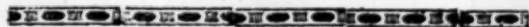
The Exordium.

that which is iust vnto all Estates and Degrees, without partialitie. Which dutie (by Gods permission and assistance) I will faithfully performe, so long as God and my King shall please: that in this place I be employed in the vprightnesse and equitie of Iudgement, shall all my performance entirely consist. The contrarie whereof shall (as I hope) neither be desired nor expected. And thus much for my selfe.

Here



¶ Here followeth the words of his
Charge in Order.



S^r concerning the manner and Method of my charge, I will for order and memorie sake, extract or draw forth all that I purpose to speake, from five words in his Maiesties Commission contained: the words are these; *Quis*, *Quibus*, *Quid*, *Quomodo*, and *de Quibus*. *Quis*, from whom the *Commission* commeth; *Quibus*, to whom it is directed; *Quid*, what it concerneth; *Quomodo*, how it ought to be executed; and *de Quibus*, of whō, and of what causes, wee are to enquire by vertue of the *Commission* vnto vs graunted: and this last, *De Quibus* is of all the rest the greatest.

As touching the first word, *Quis*, whom, or from whom our *Commission* commeth, that is, from the Imperiall Maiestie of Great Brittaines Monarchie, our dread Lord, and Soueraigne, *King James*, the lawfull Heyre vnto our Kingdomes Throne: whose Princely Scepter is his proper owne, by a most royall and lineall descent. It is his

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Commission, by whose powerfull authoritie we are now and at all times commaunded to doe him seruice: for the awfull sway of his Soueraigne gouernment doth, ought, and must inioyne all his subiects to a due subiection and obedience; for he is ouer vs the Lords annointed, and in these his Realmes and Dominions, in all Causes, & ouer all Persons, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuile, next vnder Christ Iesus our supream Gouernour. Vnto his Highnesse then let our liues submission bend; let our faiths loyaltie dedicate it selfe vnto his vertues praise: and for the long continuance of his Maiesties most happie, powerfull, and victorious Rule, let all good subiects pray.

Now that I haue spoken from whom our Commission commeth, the next word which doth direct my worke is, *Quibus*, To whom it is directed, that is, To vs his Maiesties *Iustices* of *Afise*, to whome by vertue of the *Kings* Commission is giuen such power, as that in the administration of Iustice wee doe represent the person of our *King*: So as if in the time of the *Afses* one shall strike another in the presence of the Iudge, be it no more then a blow on the eare, the Law prouideth, That the offender shall loose his hand, wherewith hee gaue the stroake, because the offence was done as in the presence of the Prince: For the Law hath so much care to protect the person of a Iudge: As that if a *Iustice* of *Afise* shall happen by any in his Circuit to be slaine, the Law adiudgeth it to bee *Lese Crimen Maiestatis*, An offence done against the Maiestie of the King,
and

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and is punishable, as in caule of Treason.

To shew the worthinesse of our Place and Office, you shall vnderstand, That the *Kings* Maiestie at his Coronation is sworne to doe Iustice vnto all his Subiects, which in his owne Person it is impossible to performe. And therefore his Highnesse is constrained by his *Ministers*, *Deputies*, *Iustices*, and *Iudges*, to administer Iustice vnto all his people. Men therefore (in such place employed) ought with wonderous care, and conscionable diligence to discharge the trust in them reposed: for vnto them, and into their hands, is (as it were) deliuered the *Kings* owne Oath; because, what he is sworne vnto, must be by them in his behalfe performed. See then the dignitie of Iustices and Iudges of Assises, *Assignamus vos Iusticiarios nostros*, We haue assigned you our Iustices, that you may administer Iustice vnto our Subiects. Thus by the *Kings* Commission the *Kings* owne Oath is put into our hands: and at this instant (in the place and person of a Iudge) my Soueraignes Oath into my hand is put: I (though his vnworthie Subiect) am by his gracious clemencie Authorized (as in his owne Person) according to his owne Oath, to administer Iustice vnto you his Subiects: Which dutie (by Gods assistance) as I haue vowed, I will faithfully performe: For if any (with a *Kings* Oath trusted) shall bee so vilde, as to falsifie their trust, such offence is more then Capitall.

The Place of a Iudge then, the greater that it is, so much the more should their care bee, to discharge

The L. Cokes charge,

the same, vpon whom so weighty an Office and Honorable Authoritie is bestowed.

From whom our *Commission* commeth, and to whom it is directed, hath bin briefly specified: I will now proceed, and shew out of this word *Quid*, what is in the *Commission* contained. Briefely therefore, it is that bounded limit, in which solely doth consist the strength of our authoritie; beyond which compasse we are commaunded not to passe: For it appointeth vnto vs the *Iustices* of Assises, what it is that wee must execute, as well in causes betwixt partie and partie, as also the *King* and partie depending. So as wee are not onely to heare, judge, and determine, such Causes of Controuersie, as shall by Writ of *Nisi prius* bee tryed, but also to examine, acquit, or condemne all such Prisoners, as shall for any offence against his Maiestie bee brought before vs, to receiue their Tryall. So that by vertue of our *Commission* wee haue authoritie, as in the person of our Soueraigne, to judge in causes, that doe concerne the life and death of the Subiect.

That our *Commission* then is very Large, Ample, and Absolute, contayning in it selfe a powerfull Authoritie, may by your selues bee judged. And to the end, that Iustice may by vs receyue the more full sound and perfect Execution, Our *Commission*, when it hath largely described vnto vs what wee may doe therein, it then most sweetely doth Appoint, Limit, and Commaund.

What manner of dooing wee must vse in those things

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things appointed to bee done, so that it dooth not onely giue vnto vs authoritie, what to execute, but dooth also lay downe vnto vs the manner how our Authoritie must bee executed, and to the vnderstanding hereof, my next word *Quomodo* doth direct it selfe.

Wee then, the *Iustices* of Assises and Gaole-Deliuerie, are by his Maiestie appointed to administer Iustice vnto his Subiects; but *Quomodo*, how, not according to our owne Will, Conceit, or Opinion, but *Secundum Legem & Consuetudinem Manerie Anglicana*, According to the Lawe, Custome, and Manner of England: Which Lawe, Custome, and Manner must bee executed with Knowledge, Iudgement, Vnderstanding, and Equitie. For wee must know our selues, and Place wherein wee are: Wee must Knowe and Vnderstand each cause before vs brought, and according to our Knowledge and Vnderstanding, wee must vprightly Iudge, according to Equitie, without (in the least sort) being drawne, by respecting eyther Person or Profit, to beare a Partiall Hand in the Execution of Iudgement.


Partialitie in a Iudge, is a Turpitude, which doth soyle and stayne all the Actions done by him. A Iudge that will bee Partiall, will receive a Bribe, and such an one cannot by any meanes bee just, in his manner of Iudging. Brybes, and Partiall dealing dooth defile the Puritie of Iustice, with great suspected Euill:

For

The L. Cokes charge,

For a *Iudge*, if but in some things he be knowne to take a Bribe, or be approoued Partiall, he leaueth no one Action done by him, free from the like suspect. A *Iudge* that for a Bribe will speake, and but once execute a Iustice purchased, all his words & Actions for euer after may justly bee suspected, though neuer so vprightly done or spoken.

A *Iudge* must vprightly, with an equall and indifferent care and minde fully heare and vnderstand each cause before hee judgeth; otherwise, it is not possible that iustice should bee justly executed: And to iudge in a point of difference, hearing but one partie speake, is assuredly to be vnjust; for this sentence is directly true: *Qui Indicat causam parte inaudita altera, Equū licet, Statuat, Iudex iniquus est*: Who judgeth a cause for the one partie, not hearing the other, though what he doth, may stand to be vpright, yet is the Iudge vnjust.



Our auncient Fathers did in their Pictures and Emblemes oftentimes enclose a very great and substantiall wisdom: Iustice (as you know) vseth euer to bee painted with a Sword in the one hand, and a paire of Scales or Ballance in the other; thereby signifying, That Iustice neuer strikes her Stroke, till first the cause be weighed in the Ballance; her Blow comes not, vntil the weight of the Cause to be tried, hath by an vpright hand equally received sufficient triall: for then she knoweth rightly how to strike her stroke, and not before: when the glory of her dignity shall receiue perfectious Honor, as wel by protecting the Good, as in punishing the Bad.

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giuen at Norwich Assises.

Mee thinks, that oftentimes when I ryde by the way, I see the Effects of *Iustice* rightlie resembled, when I behold a River with a siluer currant, bounded in her equall course, with what iust proportion shee doth disperse her streames, without bewraying any little rage of intemperate violence. But if the passage of that streame bee stopt; then how like a raging Sea, shee ouer-flowes her banckes: and that then by an vnresisted force, the Meadowes, humble Vallies, weake and low growne Shrubs are drowned vp; enduring a recure-lesse wracke, whilest Hilles & Mountaines stand safe from feare of harme. Euen so it fareth with vs: The equall course of Iustice being stayed, the poore & meaner sort of people they are ouerwhelmed with wrongs oppression, whilest great and wealthy men, like Hilles and Mountaines, buyld their Stations sure, being freed from any cause of grieve: Iustice withheld, only the poorer sort are those that smart for it.

Iustice vnto all estates doth measure an euen proportion to rich and poore, her met-wand keeps an equall length, being sealed with the testimonie of an vpright conscience. To Kings, Rulers, Iudges, and Magistrates, this sentence is proper: *Vos Dij estis*; you are Gods on earth: when by your execution of Iustice and Iudgement, the God of heauen is by your actiōs represented: but if by vs, that so are called *Gods*, Iustice and Iudgement be peruerred; it will be heauy for our soules, when we shall dye like men.

Briefly, the office of a Iudge, is patiently to heare each party speake soberly; to answer or object, directly;

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rectly; to see (as neere as may bee possible) each truth substantially prooued: And then to Iudge with an vpight heart according to Iustice and Equitie: Neuer in any one thing preferring Conclusion, before a conscionable, wise, and iudiciall Consideration. In which vprightness, the execution of Iustice vsed by the Right Honourable (my most worthie Predecessor) in this place shall be an Example, which I will desire to follow.

Of all the Morall vertues, Iustice (*Queene-like*) is enthroned: for vnto her onely is a Throne ascribed, because her Execution doth neereest represent Heauens eternall Deitie. Iustice and Mercie are inseparable Vertues; Mercie and Iudgement, as it was Righteous King *Dauids*, and lately our good *Queenes*, heauenly *Elizabeth*: so it is now vertuous King *James* his Song, in whose princely breast Mercie and Iudgement are most gloriously vnited. And to the end, that I his Subiect, and in his place his Substitute, and you his Subiects may execute Iustice as wee ought, I will nowe out of my last word, *de Quibus*, declare vnto you, of whom, and of what Causes wee are to enquire, that Iustice and Iudgement may thereby receiue a more cleare and powerfull Execution.

Those then of whome wee are in the first place to enquire, are such, by whome our *King* is most disobeyed, his State disturbed, and Kingdomes threatened: Whereof (if you consider) it will be euident, That all those growing and desperate attempting euils, by which, wee are most proudly
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menaced and Afflicted, doe principally proceed from three sorts of Recusants liuing amongst vs. Of all which, the *Popish* Recusant is the most dangerous with our *English Romanists* will I therefore at the first begin, and in the discription of their Actions and practises, I doe desire that my wordes may bee entertained with your best Attention.

Our Wordes Admired *Queene Renowned Elizabeth*, did (as you know) in the beginning of her Raigne, change the State of Religion in this Kingdome in her first Parliament, by the consent of her Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, being especially by the Lord of Heauen directed, *Error*, *Popish blindnesse*, and Faithlesse *Constitutions* grounded vpon Humaine *Traditions* were extinct. And Religions Puritie according to the Law of Faith, was Reestablished, being built vpon the viremoued foundation, of the alone Autenticke word *Canonicall*. The bookes of the old and newe Testament, from the truth whereof, shee did alwayes direct the course of her so happie and Tryumphant Government.

Notwithstanding, the Change of Religion, it cannot bee denyed. That for the first tenne yeeres, of her Maiesties Raigne, the estate of *Romaine Catholique* in England was Tollerable, though some were Committed in the beginning of her Coming to the Crowne, yet none but those whose precedent Actions, had caused

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The L. Cokes charge,

the faith of their Allegiance to remaine doubtfull, and so was the manner of their commitment mixed with such gracious Clemencie. As that they rather endured a fauourable restraint, then any straight or rigorous imprisonment, But aswell those so restrayned, as generally all the Papists in this Kingdome, not any of them did refuse to come to our Church, and yeeld their formall Obedience to the Lawes Establisshed. And thus they all Continued, not any one refusing to Come to our Churches, during the first tenne yeeres of her Maiesties gouernment. And in the beginning of the eleuenth yeere of her Raigne, *Cornewallies*, *Beddingfield* and *Silyarde* were the first Recusants They absolutely refusing to come to our Churches. And vntill they in that sort began the name of *Recusant*, was neuer heard of amongst vs.

In the beginning of the eleuenth yeere, when three *Recusants* were onely in this Kingdome to bee found. In the same yeere, *Pope Impius*, though abusiuely surnamed *Pius Quintus*, his Hellishnes was informed by some of our *English Iesuits*, that such was the number of *Romaine Catholiques* here in *England*, as that if his Horriblenesse would denounce an Excommunication against the *Queene* there was in this Realme and Kingdome, a power *Catholical* which would presently vpon an instant be in redinesse, to enter into open hostilitie with force sufficient to depose, and vterly to supplant
her

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her Highnes; and to reestabliſh the *Romaine* faith.

Pope Impius of that name the firſte, vpon the Information ſpecified the better to ſeuere his hope in his good meaning to this Kingdome, preſently plotteth with the *King of Spaine* for a ſuddaine Inuaſion vpon the preſent Excommunication of the *Queene*. And to this end one *Robert Rodulphy* a gentleman of *Florence*, was ſent by the *Pope*, vnder colour of Marchandize, to ſolicit a Rebellion amongſt vs. And gaue order vnto him for the receiuing of one hundred and fiftie thouſand Crownes, to ſet forward this Attempt. And *Philip* King of *Spaine*, by the inſtance of the *Pope*, had determined to ſend the *Duke of Alna* into *England*, with all his forces in the Low Countries To Aſſiſt ſome great men amongſt vs, who were by the *Pope* Sollicited, to be the principall Agents in a moſt Rebellious enterpriſe, vnto whome ſome of the one hundred, and fiftie Thouſand Crowns was deliuered, and ſome other part ſent into *Scotland* for the like effect.

Thus as you haue heard euen at the ſame time, when her Maieſty the late *Queene*, delt moſt mercifully with the *Papiſts*, did the *Pope* with them conſpire to worke her Ruine, & this Kingdomes Ouertrowe, ſecretly complaining how on ſodaine they might bring vpon vs Diſtruſtions, Spoyle, and generall Deſolation, when our then *Soueraigne* that *Queene of Vertue*, knowing ſhee had diſerued no ſuch euill, did not in the leaſt ſort ſuſpect any ſuch danger.

The L. Cokes charge,

The Pope hauing as he thought surely Estab-
lished the foundation of his hopes; Hee then De-
nounced the Excommunication against the *Queene*
which was not vnto her selfe made knowne, vntill
the intended Rebellion in the *North* brake forth,
a little before Christmas, in the yeere 1569, being
the twelfth yeere of her Highnesse Raigne. And
then it was knowne, that the *Pope* had Excom-
municated her *Maiestie*. And thereby freed her
Subiects as the *Bull* imported, from their Subiect-
ion and Obedience. But God was pleased that
the *Popes Bull* was so Bayted, as that the Rebelli-
on by it procured, was sodainly suppressed; For
the *Pope* whose labour is to defend Lies, was him-
selfe deceiued with a lie, for the strength of the
Papists here not being such as hee was enformed,
The true harted Protestants taking parte with
their Soueraigne, did quickly Cutt the Throats of
our *English Romaines*, dryuing some of the heads
of that Rebellion, vnto a shamefull flight, and
brought the rest by our Lawes *Iustice*, to a shame-
full death.

Her *Maiestie* in the thirteenth yeere of her
Raigne, hauing made the Law before specified,
the very next yeere following, our Commeth
Sanders Booke de Visibili Monarchya, wherein he
plainely seteth downe how the *Pope* had sent one
Morton and *Web*, two Priests before the said Re-
bellion to the Lords & Gentlemen in the *North*,
to Excite them, with their followers, to take vp
Armes, signifying vnto them the *Popes* Comman-
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dement : Alleadging, That her Maiestie being excommunicated, Her Subiects were released from their Obedience. And therefore he doth Directly Iustifie the sayd *Commotion*. Ascribing the euill successe thereof to the late publishing of the saide Excommunication. Because it was not generally knowne, vntill the yeere after it was Denounced. VVhen *Felton* had set it vpon the *Bishop of Londons* gate . Affyrming that if it had bin published the yeere before, or when the Rebels were in Armes, they had assuredly preuailed against the *Queene*, and executed the saide Sentence at the same time, for her deposinge from the Crowne.

Thus Trayterously with more then Brazen Insolence, did that Traytor *Sanders* spitt out his poysoned venim. Thereby desiring to Corrupt the hearts of her highnes Subiects, and to make them fit for a newe Rebellion, which couse by him takē, was Immitated by *Parsons*, & many others to the like effect. Who ceased not by there Hereticall and Lying Pamphlits, with most Trayterous impudencie, to abuse her Maiestie and the *State*. And not thus contented, in the yeere one thousand five hundred seuentie and nine, *Stukely* assisted by *Sanders*, and other *Catholiques*, both *English*, *Irish*, and *Italian*, with the *Popes* Commission, entred into *Ireland*. The *Pope* himselte, in the furtherance of that Course sending thither certaine forces vpon his owne Charge, Whilest all that time, her Maiestie that

The L. Cokes charge,

Queene of mercie was so farre from being mo-
ued, as that with Patience, shee endured all
these Iniuries, onely inforcing that one Lawe,
which as you haue heard, shee most Iustly made
against them.

Whilest *Ireland* by the *Popes* procurement
remained in Combustion. It happened that, *Pius*
Quintus dyed, and *Gregorie* the thirteenth suc-
ceeded in his place, who presently Reneweth
his Predecessors former *Bull*, and denounced
her Maiestie to bee Excommunicated, with *In-*
timation of all other particulars in the former
Bull mentioned, which done, there was by
him sent ouer into *England*. *Campion* and *Par-*
sons, they came vnto vs in the yeere one
thousand five hundred and eightie, there com-
ming was to Alienate the hearts of her Ma-
iesties Subiects, from their due obedience. And
to make a partie strong to depose the *Queene*,
Ioyning with the *Pope*, and *King of Spaine*, by
whome there was then an intended preparation
against vs. But the Attempts and practises of
them both at that instant sayling in *England*.
The Pope as a Temporall Prince, displayeth his
Banner in *Ireland*, with purpose to depriue her
Highnes. First from that Kingdome, and then
by degrees to depose her from this. Notwith-
standing so mild was the proceedings of her Ma-
iestie against them, as that there were in the space
of Tenue yeets, not much about twelue persons,
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that were by the Iustice of her Lawes adiudged to die, and the most of them *Semenaries*, and all of them Conuicted in causes of Treason.

Her Maiestie when shee heard of the second Excommunication, and had seene what followed in her Kingdome vpon the first. Shee was then in all Christian Pollecie enioyned to preuent the successe of dangers imminent. Her Highnesse therefore, in the yeere one thousand five hundred eightie and one, caused a Proclamation to bee made for the calling home of her Subiects from beyond the Seas, such especially as were Trayned vp in the Seminaries, perceiuing that they learned nothing there but disloyaltie, & Treason. And presently after this her Proclamation, shee called a Parliament, wherein a Lawe was agreeable in effect to the sayd Proclamation, enforced with a penaltie of death, for any *Iesuite* or *Seminary* Priest, to repayse into *England*, and for any to receiue or intertaine them, shee would willingly that those of such profession, should keep themselves without the Lymits of her Kingdome.

But if against her will, they would come into her Land to sow the seed of Sedition, and Rebellion amongst her Subiects, and to lay, their plots how to supprize her life, and to make a way for Forraigne Enemies with bloodie handes to enter vppon her Dominions. And by Hostill Inuasion to bring her Kingdomes to destru-
on

The L. Cokes charge,

tion, and to expose her people vnto the Sla-
rie of a seruile yoke, What shoulde her Ma-
iestie lesse haue done in the prevention of
such a Lamentable euill, but to hang vp them
that were the principall Actors in so bloodie
and Tragecall a Tyranny.

From the yeere eighty one, to eightie eight,
her Maiestie was not free from Continual *Trai-*
terous and *Rebellious* practises, desperately attemp-
ted against her life, or intended subuersion of her
Kingdome. First the *Popes* forces being over-
throwne in *Ireland*, the *Pope* and *King of Spaine*,
presently ioyned with the *Duke of Guise*, for the
executing of a most desperate disignment against
her Maiestie. *Arden* and *Somerwilde*, would
haue layd vyolent handes vpon her sacred per-
son. *Doffor Parrie*, intended the like villanie. *Nor-*
thumberland reuolted from his Obediēce. *Men-*
doza the *Iesuite*, and others of that Crue or Sect,
apponted by the *Pope* to order and Mannage
these deuclish designments.

In the yeare eightie, to forerunne the purposed
Spanish Inuasion, against which time *Campion*,
Parsons, *Haywoode*, and all the *Iesuites* and *Se-*
minaries, had so bestutred themselues. There is
certaine bookes printed beyond the Seas, sent
ouer into *England*, therby to prepare the hearts of
our people, to Ioyne with *Spaine*, and to take vp
Armes against their Soueraigne, with perswasions
grounded

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grounded vpon this position. *Viz.* That in all warres which may happen for Religion: euery Catholike man is ioyned in conscience to imploy his person and forces by the Popes direction, that is, how far, when, where, & how either at home or abroad, he may and must breake with his temporall Soueraigne, and that vpon paine of deadly sinne. Vpon a foundation so diabolical: What fruits other then diuellish can be expected? And yet, do but further note how damnable a spirit is in their bookes and writings bewrayed.

All the Papiſts in this kingdome, were most violently perſwaded, that vpon the *Spaniſh* inuaſion, they ſhould all ioyne their greateſt force with *Spaine*. It was in them accounted an error of conſcience, want of courage, and effeminate daſtardie, that they had ſuffered her Maieſtie almoſt thirtie yeares to raigne ouer them. They were threatned with Excommunication, and vtter ruine, both of themſelues and their poſteritie, if they did any longer obey and defend, or acknowledge her highnes to be their *Queene* or ſuperior, and did not forthwith ioyne their forces to the Spaniards. And to the end, that this moſt godleſſe, trayterous, inhumane and vnnaturall appointment, by ſubiects to their lawfull annointed Soueraigne, and native cuntry, might receiue the better acceptance; There was vſed a moſt inſinuating, though faithleſſe manner of perſwaſion, guilded ouer with a ſeeming ſhewe of Holineſſe: (For thus,) our *Engliſh Romane Catholikes* were promiſed) That in the king of *Spaines* armie, there were diuerſe Prieſts readie to ſerue

The L. Cokes charge,

euerie mans spirituall necessitie, by confession, counsell, and all consolation in Christ Iesus; and that they should be so assisted by the blessed patrons, both in heauen, and in earth, with the gard of all Gods holy Angels, with our blessed Saviour in the soueraigne Sacrament, and with the dailie, most holy Oblation of Christs owne deare body and blood. As that it could not fall out otherwise, but that they should assuredly preuaile: Hereby may the world perceiue in what Angelike manner of brightnesse Popish doctrine can suite treasons damnable, euen as blacke as hell.

You haue heard what preparation was provided by the Pope and Papists, for the furtherance of Spaines intended inuasion, we will now proceed to matter of action. And but call to our remembrance (that euer to bee remembred) powerfull worke of God:) for our deliuerance in the yeare 88. The king of Spanes *Armado*, that admirable, and warlike nauie, so well furnished with valiant souldiers, and all munition fit for warre, when suddenly we were in danger by a Potent enemy to be surprised, when her late Maiesties Royall Nauie, was scarcely put forth to sea. And the best ships of strength not fully furnished with shot and powder, as was necessitie in so weightie a businesse: yet to the neuer dying glory of a maiden Queene, such was her princely power, although at sea but in part vnprovided, as that by the loue and grace of heauens eternall providence, her Maiestie by a most noble *Battell* at sea, euen in the presence of her kingdoms *Territories*, did utterly disperse and
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ouerthrow, that furnamed inuincible Spanisla nauie, so that not any Spaniards floate, (vnlesse brought captiue could arriue) vpon her Englands shoare. Nor but verie few of their so much admired fleete of shippes, returned to their native home. Thus did God on Queene *Elizabeth* bestow a glorious victorie, euen in the despite of Pope, Papist, trayterous Iesuits, Seminaries, Monkes, Friers, and all the rablement of that Antichristian See.

The power of Spaine, was brought against vs, by the procurement of our English Papists, and what recompence was intended for them, in the charitie of their catholike profession may appeare, by that which the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* affirmed, which was, *That both Catholickes and Heretikes that came in his way, should be all one to him, his sword could not discern them, so he might make way for his maister, all was one to him.* Thus did Papists, as still they doe, desire to worke our downe fall in the certaintie of their owne destruction.

God hauing shewed his loue to our late Queene and kingdome, by that wonderfull deliuerance before described: The Pope to further his accustomed indeuours, practised with Spaine, about a new inuasion, and the better to bring his purpose to passe: *Parsons*, that auncient Iesuite, and most notorious traytor, vnder the Pope, chiefe gouernour of all the Iesuits, (principall enemies to *Iesus*,) was placed in the

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Spanish Court, by whose perswasion there was a new *Seminarie* erected at *Valedolyde*, from whence in three yeares, there was sent thirteene priests into England, to prepare a passage for the new intended inuasion. Whereupon in the yeare 1591. a Proclamation went forth for the apprehending of all such Priests or Seminaries, as should come from Spaine. Because their intention was knowne vnto the State here. But to the end the Diuell (the Pope I should say) might want no instruments for the effecting of murthers, treasons, and rebellions, by *Parsons* procurement, more Seminaries were erected in Spaine, (and England still troubled with Romes trayterous disciples.) But the new inuasion being twise set on foote, God did so warre against their purposes, as that their prepared Naue was at sea, disperfed by stormes, so as most of them endured shipwracke.

That expectation failing, then was the Infant of Spaine intituled to the Crowne of *England*: (and to that end, sundry bookes diuulged) Queene *Elizabeth* was by them accounted a tyrant: more tyrannicall then *Nero*, *Decius*, *Dioclesian*, *Maxentius*, or any the greatest persecutors of the Christians: Nor thus contented, from the yeare 88. to the yeare 99. there were continuall treasons practised against the Royall person of her late Maiestie, *Patricke*, *Collem*, *Lopez*, *Torke*, *Williams*, *Squier*, all attempting to murder her Highnesse.

All these attempts, plots, proiects, & trayterous stratagems, taking no effect. Then was there from
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the Pope a new Bull sent, whereby the Papists were commanded to vse a formall maner of obedience, vntill they might grow to be a strength sufficiently strong to depose the Queene. Which expectation once accomplished, then had they power by the sayd Bull to take vp armes against her. Thus they neuer left continuall practising, vntill a little before her Maiesties death: about which time, by some of the principall *Agents*, in the last most horrible treason, there was plotted another Spanish inuasion: For the accomplishing whereof, the yonger *Winter* was a messenger vnto the king of Spaine, and *Guydo Fawkes* vnto the Pope, and a third was imployed to the Archduke.

The king of Spaine at that time being our enemy, entertained *Winters* motion, with most kind acceptance, protesting that the English Catholiks should bee as deare vnto him, as his home-borne *Castilians*, and in loue to the intended businesse, vowed in the word of a king, to defend their safety, (all which, as souldiers say) with pollicie in warre he might do) being then our enemy. But it is a matter cleane out of my *Element*, and therefore I will dispute no further about it: But the Counsell of Spaine holding a conference about the manning of the plot by *Winter* layd. It was objected that there would be want of horse for such a businesse. Whereupon *Winter* vndertaketh to furnish them with a certaine number, and receiueth gold to that end. At last the purposed designement being embraced with a generall consent, a souldier

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standing by, being some Commander, a Captaine, or such like, ruffles out this souldier like Latine, *Nunc tempus pro nobis erit aliquid obtinere: Now (shall it be time for vs to get something.* But in the middest of this intended preparation, it happened, that her Maiestie Royall, and most gracious *Elizabeth* died: And our now Imperiall Soueraigne King *James*, did both inherite her kingdomes and her vertues.

His Maiestie beeing with peace established in his royall seate, the king of Spaine would no longer embrace his former purposed appointment: Nor would consent, that any thing should against a king be plotted, with whom he neuer had warre: Nor by whom he neuer receiued any iniurie. So as our Papists were in that behalfe dismissed of their expected hope: and enforced to seeke out some other meanes; and now I will bewray a secret (I am sure not generally knowne.) In the discourse whereof I doe desire attention.

Pope *Clement* the ninth, who was accounted the last best of many Popes, (all notwithstanding being naught.) He vnderstanding Spaines purpose, as before is specified, concerning an inuasion, supposing that the *Queene* might die before that businesse tooke effect: And foreseeing vnto whom these kingdomes should of right descend, sent secretly a Bull into England, which was so closely concealed, amongst our Papistes here, as that her Maiestie in her life time knewe not thereof.

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thereof. (For if she had) I am sure, that by reaso. of mine employment neare vnto her: I should haue heard if she had knowne any such thing, But assuredly both her selfe, and the State, were ignorant thereof.

But now this Bull being brought to light (which my selfe haue seen & read) it importeth thus much, *quāto contingeret illam miserimā Elizabethā mortuā esse* That, when that miserable wench Elizabeth should happen to dye, *Tunc nos volumus, Then we will,* that all and euery of you, do vse your best & uttermost endeours *quibuscunque modis et viis,* by what strength or meanes so euer, to keepe out the Scottissh Hereticke, that in any wise he may not be admitted to the kingdome of England, vnlesse he would reconcile himselfe to Rome, and hold his crowne of the Pope, and conformance himselfe and all his subiects to the religion of the *Romane Church.* This Bull vntill Garnet was taken, slept in England, beeing filled with a most proud, scornfull and Trayterous boldnesse.

When that *miserimam foeminam* Miserable woman or wench Elizabeth shall dye, had the Papall proud vsurper, no other attribute to bestowe vppon a *Queene* then *Miserable wench?* shee liued Renowned thorough all the Corners of the worlde, shee ruled in peace, beloued of all her Subiects, vnlesse those infected with the *Romane Leprosie,* shee was admired, & feared, confronting ail oppositions, with vndoubted confidence, shee was a Prince potent enough, to defend her Kingdomes and to helpe her Neighbours beeing oppressed with

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with glorious victorie she beat Spaine from off her coasts, and rifled him in the bosome of his owne kingdome, wrapping his townes and shippes in cloudes of fire and smoake. She swayed the Royall Scepter of her kingdomes gouernement with triumphant victorie; maintaining peace amongst her people, euen in the worlds despight, 44 yeares her vnmatched wisdome, and vnconquered prowes crowned her the *Peerelesse wonder* of her sexe: she liu'd and di'd a *Queene*, her life beloued, and her death lamented: And yet for all this, was she no more in the Popes account, then a *miserable wench*. Let the Popes pride sinke to hell: whilest heauens *Elizabeth* (whose blessed soule from earth to heauen is taken) doth, and shall with *God and Christ* for euer liue in the heauenly glorie of eternall happiness.

Pope *Clement* the ninth, hauing by his Bull, as before specified, giuen commaundement that the Papists should by all meanes howsoeuer, withhold our now Soueraigne from his lawfull right. (And notwithstanding that *Rebellious Commission*,) his Maiestie being with great ioy peaceably enstalled. *Peersie & Catesby* went vnto their great Prouinciall *Garnet*, & of him enquired, whether the king being as he was alreadie established, they might by vertue of the Popes Bull, vse any meanes to supplant or depose him, considering they were not of force to withstand his coming at the first. And *Garnet* answered, that vndoubtedly they might, whereupon they presently resolved to put in execution, that

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that most horrible powder treason, the like whereof, vntill that time, was neuer to the world reported.

Some are of opinion, that if a tolleration of religion had bin admitted vnto the Papists: that then no such bloudie stratagem should by any of them haue bene practised. But if you shall consider the tenor of the Popes Bull, you may then perceiue, that their request of indifferent Tolleration was but a colourable pretence in them. For that might not haue serued their turnes: For they were enioyned to worke his Maiesties ouerthrow, vnlesse he would reconcile himselfe to *Rome*, hold his Crowne of the Pope, and conforme himselfe and all his subjects to the Religion of the *Roman Church*. It is not then a toleration only which they seeke, nor could they haue bene contented therewith (although so much shall neuer be granted vnto them.) They may therefore easily despaire of the rest (though they the Pope and the Diuell) doe neuer so much conspire to bring their Hell-borne practises to passe.

As touching the last horred treason, by inhuman sauaiges complotted: I know not what to speake, because I want words, to describe the trayterous, detestable, tyrannicall, bloudie, murtherous villanie of so vilde an action. Onely this had their horrible attempt taken place. This *Sea-Inuyrond-Island*, the beauty, and wonder of the world. This so famous and farre renowm'd great *Brittaines Monarchie*, had at one blowe endured a recouerlesse ruine, being overwhelmed in a sea of
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bloud,

The L. Cokes charge,

bloud, all those euils, should haue at one instant happened, which would haue made this happiest kingdome of all kingdomes, the most vnhappy. Our conquering Nation, conquered in her selfe: her faire and fertile bosome, beeing by her owne natiue (though soule vnnaturall children) torne in peeces, should haue beene made a scorne to all the nations of the earth. This so well planted, pleasant, fruitfull worlds, accounted *Edens paradise*, should haue beene by this time, made a place disconsolate, auast and desert wildernesse, generally ouerrunne with heards of bloud-desiring wolues. This so well gouern'd, Populous, potent Monarchy, had in one moment beene left without either *King, Queene, Prince, State, Nobility, Law, Iustice*, or any strength of gouernment, sodainly had we then beene throwne not onely to the cruelty of ciuill warre, that too too murtherous *Domestick* spoyling enemy: But also euen in that instant generally haue beene exposed vnto the all-deuouring hand of forraine Enemies, in our Congregations, the songs of *Syon* had no more been sung: But in their steed had bin brought vnto vs the songs of *Gebenna* set from *Rome*: that *Sathans* synagogue, all our best-freedomes liberty, had by this bene turn'd into the worst bondage of most slauish seruitude: *Papists, Romane Catholickes* that would haue wrought all our destructions thus, Should not Iustice, iustly then commaund their actions chiefly to be enquired of.

If what hath bene spoken, be vnto your memories,

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ries committed, you may then consider, that from the eleuenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeths* Raigne, vntill the third yeare of our now Soueraignes gouernment, the Papiſts haue continually labored to aduance the ſupremacy of the *Romane Church*, which to accompliſh they haue contended thirty foure yeares, in which time they haue not omitted to praſtiſe Treasons and Rebellion, onely amongſt vſhereat home. But haue alſo complotted to bring vpon vs *Forraine Inuaſions*, & that from time to time, ſo ſoone as they were diſmiſſed of ore hope, they preſently ſet a foote ſome other project: both at home and abroad: and ſtill being by the loue and mercy of G O D towards vs continually preuented: At laſt, taking counſell with hell, and *Sathan*, they had praſtiſed a moſt helliſh attempt. wherein their Diuellishneſſe brought it ſelfe neareſt to the nature of the Diuell, making fire and brimſtone the instruments of our deſtruction. And though the principall Actors of that euill, haue thereby themſelues deſtroyed: yet the former experience of their continuall attempting may giue vs warning, that they will not yet ſeaſe to attempt, and though that *Ieſuites* and *Seminaries* haue beene the principall Agents in all the ſeueral complotted treasons, and that the Papiſts amongſt vs cannot generally be accuſed, yet thus much I muſt ſay, thoſe perſons, and that Religion whereby *Ieſuites* and *Seminaries* are received, protected and concealed, are equally to be accounted dangerous, for were there not ſuch receivers amongſt

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The L. Cokes charge,

mongst vs, *Romes* state, Traytors would not so fast come, swymming from *Tyber* hither, to arriue at *Tyberne*, onely, I conclude therefore, that if in great *Brittaine*, there were no Papists, this *Monarchy* should be as free from treason as any Nation in the world.

But now deare Contrimen, seeing you haue heard what godlesse and dangerous practises haue continually by *Romes* favorites beene plotted against vs. I desire that with attention, you will vnderstand what it is (as they say) for which with such vehemency they contend. The world is made belieue, that the aduancement of Religion is the onely cause for which they strue, wherein they ioyne themselves vnto the *Pope*, because there is no religion good, but that which is by the *Pope* allowed, wherein my purpose is to binde all Papists vnto their owne assertion.

That *Pius Quintus* whome those of their side doe account to haue beene a good *Pope* (though by false perswasions too much misled) before the time of his excommunication against Queene *Elizabeth* denounced, sent his letter vnto her Maiestie, in which hee did allow the *Bible*, and Booke of *diuine seruice*, as it is now vsed amongst vs, to bee authenticke, and not repugnant to truth. But that therein was contayned enough necessary to saluation, (though there was not in it, so much as might conueniently bee) and that hee would also allowe it vnto vs, without chaunging any parte: so as her Maiestie would
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acknowledge to receiue it from him the *Pope*, (and by his allowanc) which her Maiestie denying to do, she was then presently by the same *Pope* excommunicated: And this is the truth concerning *Pope Pius Quintus*, as I haue faith to God and men, as I haue oftentimes heard it auowed by the late *Queene* her owne wordes: And I haue conferred with some *Lords* that were of greatest reckoning in the *State*, who had seene and read the letter, which the *Pope* sent to that effect: as haue bene by me specified. And this vpon my credit, as I am an honest man, is most true.

By this then all our *English Papistes*, either *Iesuites* or *Seminaries* may learne to knowe that it is not Religion that they strue for, but onely to maintaine the *Antichristian* head of *Romes* vsurpt supremacie. And if there bee in this presence any *Romane Catholickes*, or so manie of this nation, as shall heare of that which hath now bene spoken. I entreate them, as my deare and louing Countrey men, that they will no longer bee seduced, by any liuing spirite sent from *Rome*, the *Pope*, whom they belecue, hath himselve allowed, that in our Church, *We haue a doctrine of Faith and Religion, sufficiently necessarie to Saluation*: Deere Countrey men, wee haue then enough, and neede not the helpe of anie *Pope*, Sythence all the *Papistes* generally came vnto our Churches before our late *Queene Elizabeth* was excommunicated.) Against our *Dread Soueraigne* there is no Excommunication denounced. In Gods name,

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then let vs ioyne in our prayers, and Sacraments, and performe a due obedience to God, and to our King, as wee are all of one Nation, so let vs be all of one Church, and *Christ* beeing onely our head, let vs all desire as in one sheefolde, to be the sanctified members of his glorious bodie.

If there be any Papists so foolish, and altogether reasonlesse, as to expect that in time his Maiestie may be drawne to such alteration, or Tolleration: as they desire. I will them assuredly to know, they hope in vaine, for his Maiestie is, and euer hath beene confidently resolu'd, in matter of Religion, to continue the selfe same order and profession, which he now professeth. Whereof I will giue you an instance, Since the time of the *Earle of Northumberland*s Imprisonment, there was amongst his papers found a letter, which was obiected against him in *Starre Chamber*, when himselfe was called vnto his answer: The letter was directed to the *Kings Maiesty*, that now is, as he was then *King of Scotland*. In which amongst other things, the *Earle* had aduised his Highnesse not to desire to be proclaimed Heire apparant to this *Crowne*, nor proclaime *Prince Henry* to be the *Prince of Wales*, But to stay the time, vntill the *Queenes* death. And that then he would resolute at his comming to admit vnto the *Catholicks* a Tolleration for their religion, which he requested, because the Papists did put some trust in him, so Sollicit that businesse in their behalfe. This letter beeing read, his Maiesties owne answer was shewed: (Till that time, by Gods
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owne hand preferued) to signifie vnto the world his religious vnremoued confidence. To the first parte of the *Earles* letter, his *Hightnesse* answered, that he had no contrary purpose, but to attend *Gods* leasure. And for his motion concerning the *Catholicks* tolleration, he was purposed to come vnto this kingdome in peace. But as touching matter of Governement, he was resolu'd neuer to alter anything, either in *Church* or *State*. His Maiesties most noble and *Kingly* resolution, not enduring then to temporize vnder any pretext of humane policy. Can it now be thought, that his *Hightnes* will be removed in matter of Religion, from that Station whereupon his Soules saluation standeth built.

Such Papists (as notwithstanding the impossibility of their hope will still remaine peruerse) despising to be admonished: Let them know for certainty, that the lawes concerning them, shall receiue a most strict and seuerer execution, you therefore of the iury, ought to be very carefull in that businesse. And all the iustices in their seuerall Limits, are in their allegiance to the *King*, bound in conscience to vse all diligence so to obserue the Papists, as that vnto their houses, there bee not any *Iesuites* or *Seminaries* intertayned. For there practise, is to Alienate the hearts of our *English* Subjects, from the obedience to their soueraigne. In which imployment, though the *Iesuites* bee most notorious, yet I account the *Seminarie* Priests more dangerous; Because their estimation stealeth to it selfe

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selfe a better opinion in the hearts of the simple. Notwithstanding, all their worke is directed to one and the selfe same end; If all good subiects then shall desire the administration of *Iustice*, according to the Lawes established: they may either be conuerted or supplanted. By whome our subuersion, and vtter supplanting hath so often times bene attempted. I therefore leaue them, their actions and proceedings to be iudged off, and carefullie to be lookt into, by your most mature consideration and best diligence, least that our too too much conueniencie, doth yet vntimely bring vpon vs some dangerous mischiefe. Them and their actions therfore are principally in the first place to be enquired of, and that with such regard as their cunning may by no meanes outreach the meaning of the Statute Law enacted for their punishment, wherein though there be as much concluded, as the wisdom of our state could deuise, in the preuention of any future euill, yet as I heare, the *Pope* hath already granted such dispensation, as that by their hellish, *Sophistrie*, of *Equiuocating*, they may take a course wherein to deceiue our hope of there amendment, but in Gods name let the law provided, receiue a iust and faithfull execution, & then doubt not, but their faithlesse Popish policie shall be sufficiently preuented. And that in time the most sacred person of Gods anointed King, whome *Pope Clement* the ninth, cold proudly dare to feare the scottish *Heritike*, shall vnderneath his Princely foot tread downe Romes faithlesse *Papall* proud and

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and Antichristian heresy, & now in hells despight, vertuous King *James* being the *Emperiall* Maiesty of great *Brittaines Monarchy*, the strength of whose establisht awfull gouernment, makes the proudest Territories & most strong foundation of earths Babilonde to shake, I doubt not but in his royall selfe and his most blest posterity, as is already by force of his commaunding power, not without iust cause fearfully suspected, the destruction of the scarlet whore shall be made certaine to her, and her adulterates, when they together shall bee with wrath destroyed: for the accōplishing of which most glorious worke, let all true beleeuing protestants, like faithfull subiects to their lawfull *Soueraygne* yeelde there best obedience to his highnesse lawes, and thus much concerning *Romane Catholikes*.

Those that you are in the second place to enquier of, are a second manner of Recusants, though nothing so dangerous as the *Papish recusant* is, yet are they a Sect not to be tollerated in any *Monarchy* all gouernment. They are a certaine Brotherhood, which can indure no *Bishops*: The originall founder of their schisme, as they now professe, it hath (as some of them say) turnd an *Apostatate*, to his first profession, so as now they are ashamed of his name, and will by no meanes in their fraternity be deriued from him, yet they remaine knowne to the world, by the name of *Brownings*. The most part of them are simple, & Illiterate people. And they together with those of that sorte, which seeme to haue learning, are as all the rest, onely arrogant, and

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wilfully peruerse, fitter to be reformed by punishment, rather then by argument: And though their ignorance vnderstands not what they doe, yet doe their endeaouours strue to shake in sunder the whole frame of our *Emperiall* gouernment, for if (as they desire) the forme of our *Ciuill Lawes* were abrogated, Then should our *Common Law*, and it of necessity fall together. For they are so *woven* and *incorporated* each in other, as that without the one, the other cannot stand: for example.

An action Reall, beeing brought at *common Law*, in Bar thereof Bastardy is pleaded, our *common Law* can then proceed no further, vntill by the *ciuill Law* the matter of Bastardy be determined, So is it in the right of a *Womans Dowre*, and in the tryall of *Wills*; In all these, and diuerse others without the Assistance of the *ciuill Law*, the *common Law* hath no power to determine. If then the *ciuill Law* must of necessity remain, it is no lesse necessary that the iudges thereof should be continued.

And againe without the graue assembly of our Reuerend *Bishops*, his Maiesties high court of parliament, should be vnfurnished, no law being there enacted, but that which is by the *King*, his Lords spirituall and temporall confirmed. These therefore that would haue no *Bishops* amongst vs, do in their desires strue, from his highnes, and the dignity of his State, to pluck the right hand of gouernment, and as much as in them lyeth to break in sunder, the golden frame of iust *Authority* for if no *Bishops*, then no *Lawes*, if no *Lawes*, no *Kings*, and

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and to this height doth their presumption, clime, although their ideot blindnes seems as if they did not vnderstand so much, the mischief of their schisme is most vsufferable: For neuer was there a nation knowne to flourish hauing a *Monarchie* in the kingdom, and a *Mallachie* in the Church. And therefore you of the Iurie faile not to enquire of all such *Se-ctaries* and present them.

It is therefore the faith full Protestant, that only sets the *Crowne* vpon our Soueraignes head, & holds it vp so fast, as no opposition can make it shake. And by their loyall hands will *Heauen* bepleased, to keep it safe from falling, which Mercy in the most *Royall issue* now established, God for christ his sake confirm vnto vs, so long as Sun & Moon endureth.

The last sort of Reculants, though trouble some, (yet in my conscience the least dangerous) are those which do with too much violence, contend against some ceremonies vsed in the Church, with whose indirect proceedings, in mine owne knowledge, his Maiestie is not a little grieued. But I will hope (as his *Highnesse* doth) that in time, they will grow wise enough to leaue their foolishnesse, and consider that ceremonies not against the Analogie of Faith, nor hindring Faiths deuotion, are no such bug-beares as should fear them from the exercises of diuine duties, nor cause them to disturbe the peace of our Church, whose government is more consonant to Scripture then all the best reformed Churches at this day in the world. You of the Iurie faile not therefore to enquire of their abuses,

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which doe delay to conforme themselves vnto the lawes obedience, that such of them as doe growe insolent, may not goe unpunished: And thus much concerning our three sorts of *Recusants*.

Thus hauing touched these groning euills, which beeing well considered, doe cry for iustice against themselves, threatening (if not suppress) To make our *Common wealth* to grone vnder the burthē of inforc'd calamity: I will now, from them proceed vnto those growing enormities, whose vngouerned height is already to such imperfectiō grown, as that the iustice of this kingdomes gouernment, receiuerh scandall by their meanes, and the publick *weale* griued by vniust oppression.

I heare a generall complaint against the multiplicity of *Ecclesiasticall Courts*, and that causes are in them continued longer then an vpright and orderly proceeding would necessarily inforce, by meanes wherof, his *Maiesties* good subiects, do receiue losse, and are much hindred, by there so often constraigned attendance. But in this *Diocesse*, I hope the occasion of any such complaints, shall no more be heard of, Because I speake before those reuerend Magistrates,* in whose authority consisteth sufficient power to reforme those abuses already complained vpon, I will therefore insit no further, few words content the wise, what I haue spoken, I know is heard by an approued wisdom.

As touching the pennall Statutes for the punishing of any vnreuerent demeanure in Churches,
or

* The L. Bishop
and the Chan-
cellour of that
diocess being
then present
vpon the bench.

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or violence offered to the ministers, or quarrelling
stryking, or drawing of any weapon in Church, or
Church yard, I know they be ordynary matters,
giuen in euery charge. And therefore you are not
ignorant of the Lawes in that case made and pro-
vided: I will therefore in respect of the shortnesse
of the time, onely point out vnto you some seue-
rall officers, whose actions not beeing sufficiently
looked into, many abuses are committed, which do
passe unpunished.

Our common wealth, Receiues much iniurie
by our *Escheators*, who by abusing their cōmission,
doe most intollerable wrong, to many of his Ma-
iesties good Subiects, for an *Escheator* will come
into the country, and beeing informed of an ho-
nest *Yeoman* deceased, be it that his Lands, be not
aboue the yearly value of forty or fiftie Pounds, &
leauing an *Heire* behind him, an inquiry shall bee
made, by what euidence euery acre of ground is
holden, and finding but one peece, for which an
expresse euidence cannot bee shewed, for that par-
ticular parcell, Then by a Iury to that end Sum-
moned by the *Escheator*, that peece of ground must
be adiudged to be held in *Capite*. And so an office
beeing found: all the whole inheritance must bee
raynted, and the yong heire a ward to the *King*,
who then beeing presently Begged by some one
or other, by then hee hath compounded for his
wardship, sued out his livery, and then perhaps
married to one starke naught, or not worth any
thing,

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thing, the yong heire shall bee left iust worth so much, and no more: And this (as I thinke) is a most lamentable thing. God forbid that euery man should be inforced by such course, to proue his right in euery particular acre of ground which he hath. For many particular peeces are oft included in one euidence, without being distinguished by seuerall names. So that it is impossible, but by such course, as the *Escheator* takes, lands that neuer held in *Capite*, must needs be brought in compasse of such *Tenure*. And againe, the intent of the Law, for the benefit of the *king*, looketh only to Manors, Lands, and Tenements of great value, without hauing respect to such petty things. Where an heire to cleare the incumbrance, must ouerthrow his estate, loose his inheritance, and be vndone for ever. But this notwithstanding, so the *Escheator* may haue his part, in the spoile, he careth not to vse any indirect corruption. You of the Iurie therefore for the good of your selues and yours, carefully looke to the proceedings vsed in this case, and such abuse as you shall find therein, let it be presented. And such as shall bee found offenders, they shall know, that we haue lawes to punish them. For prooofe whereof, I would you could find out some, of whom there might be made an example: But if you will be content to let the *Escheator* alone, and not looke vnto his actions, he will bee contented by deceiuing you, to change his name, taking vnto himselfe the two last syllables, only with the *Es* left out: and so turne *Chetor*.

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We haue then an excellent *Officer*, surnamed the *Clarke* of the *Market*, concerning whose office, for mine owne part, I see not the necessitie thereof, considering the Iustices of peace in their seuerall limmits, are at euery Sessions to enquire of, and to punish all those abuses which are by the Clarke of the market continued, vnder shew of reformation. For he will come downe and call before him all waights and measures, and where a fault is found, there must a Fee be payd, which is deuided betwixt him and the Informer: So the of-fendor payes for his offence, to the end it might be continued, but not reformed. And thus the Clarke of the market by receiuing bribes, enricheth himselfe, by abusing his Maiesties lawes, and wronging his Subiects. It was once my hap to take a Clarke of the market in these trickes: But I aduans't him higher then his fathers sonne; by so much as from the ground to the toppe of the Pillorie. If you of the Iurie will therefore haue a care to find out these abuses, by Gods grace they shall not goe unpunished. For we haue a *Coffe*, which signifies a *Scull*: whereby in the execution of Iustice, wee are defended against all oppositions, bee they neuer so violent.

There is a certaine ruffling officer, which will seeme to command much by the authoritie of his Comission. And he wil be known to be a Purueyor. Some of which officers, if they can find nothing to be dealing with, they will puruey mony out of your purses: if you will suffer them. But know there is no
money

The L. Cokes charge,

mony to be purueyed, vnlesse by the high way side, and any Purueyor that shall take such course, is but in his passage, the high way to the *gallowes*.

But to speake of that, which may by them bee lawfully done, admit a Purueyor commeth downe with Commission, to take vp timber for the *Kings* vse; What timber is it then that he must take: He cannot come and pull downe any timber in my house, what then? May he go into any of my woods which I purpose to preferue, and there marke out of my best timber, and inforce me to suffer it to be felled, and carried away at the kings price? No, There is not any such authoritie granted vnto him. But only thus, If I haue any timber felled, which I purpose to sell: then may the Purueyor (the King hauing vse of timber) come and make choise of what trees he will: For there is great reason, that in such case the king should first be serued. But if any of you do desire to preferue your timber growing, be not scared with a Purueyors warrant: Nor do not preferue the standing of your trees, by bribing any one of them. The dignitie of his Maiesties prerogatiue *Royall* is not vsed to enforce his subiects to indure wrong. But the rust being scoured off, which abused time, hath cast vpon it, then will the glorie thereof shine in the perfection of an vncorrupted brightnesse. You of the Iury therefore looke into the abuses done by *Purueyors*, and present them.

Besides these spoken of. There is also a Salt-peter man, whose Commission is not to breake vp any mans

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mans house or ground without leaue. And not to deale with any house, but such as is vnused for any necessarie imployment by the owner. And not to digge in any place without leauing it smooth and leuell: in such case as he found it. This Salt-peter man vnder shew of his authoritie, though being no more then is specified, will make plaine and simple people beleue, that hee will without their leaue, breake vp the floore of their dwelling house, vnlesse they will compound with him to the contrary. Any such fellow, if you can meete withall, let his misdemeanor be presented, that he may be taught better to vnderstand his office: For by their abuse the countrey is oftentimes troubled.

There is another troublesome fellow called a *Concealer*, who is indeed little better then a plaine *Cosiner*, and would in many things be proued so, if well looked vnto. There be many Statute lawes to preuent the occurrence of his mischief, giue him not a peny for any of his claimes or titles: For they are meere illusions, and like himselfe not worth any thing.

There be 4 sorts of people, whom if you obserue, you shall find not any of them to thriue. I haue alwayes known them little better then beggers, and may easily be knowne by these names. A *Concealer*, of whom I haue spoken: vnto whom is rightly ioyned a *Promooter*, a *Monopolitan*, and an *Alcunmist*: The *Promooter* is both a *begger* and a *knaue*, and may, if well looked vnto, in the part of an *Informers*, (For many abuses) by your information, ei-

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The L. Cokes charge,

ther be well punished or reformed. Their Office, I confesse, is necessarie: And yet it seldome happeneth, that an honest man is imployed therein: yet there is some hope, that by punishing their abuses, they may at the last bee made honest against their wils. In which imployment, you of the Iurie shall do well to vse a respectiue diligence.

As touching the *Monopolitane*, hee for the most part vseth at a deare rate to pay for his foolishnes: For some of that profession, haue bene so wise, to sell twentie, thirtie, or perhaps fortie pound land a yeare, and bestow most part of the money in purchasing of a *Monopolie*: Thereby to anoy and hinder the whole *Publicke VVeale* for his owne priuat benefit: In which course he so well thriue, as that by toyling some short time, either in *Starch*, *Vineger*, or *Aquavita*, he doth in the end thereby purchase to himselfe an absolute beggerie, and for my owne part, their purposes and practises considered, I can wish vnto them no better happinesse.

But then our golden Foole the *Alcumist*, he will be struing to make Gold and Siluer, vntill he leaues himselfe not worth a pennies weight in either of both. I will not deny, but to vnderstand the nature, quintessence, & spirit of the *Minerals*, out of them to extract a *Metaphisicall* and *Paracelsian* manner of Physicke, may according to art be commendable, but by the studie of *Alcumie*, to desire to turne imperfect mettals into Gold and Siluer, such labour I account ridiculous: And oftentimes by those of this *Cumicall Science* is Felony comitted:
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For by any imperfect commixture, to vse multiplication, either in Gold or Siluer, is directly Fello-
nie by *Statute Law*: you of the Iurie are therefore
to enquire of such offenders, and present them.

Because I must haue vnto an end, I wil request that
you will carefully put in execution the *Statute* a-
gainst *Vagrants*: Since the making whereof, I haue
found fewer theeues, and the *Gaole* lesse pestered
then before.

The abuse of *Stage players*, wherewith I find the
Countrey much troubled, may easily be reformed:
They hauing no Commission to play in any place
without leaue: And therefore, if by your willing-
nesse they be not entertained you may soone be rid
of them.

You are also concerning *Innes* and *Alehouses* di-
ligently to obserue what the *Statute Lawe* determi-
neth. As also to keep the orders set down by my ho-
norable predecessor, concerning which, there is now
by the appointment of the *Lords of the Counsel*, cer-
taine *Briefes* to be deliuered vnto all the *Iustices* in
their seuerall *Limmits*. And assuredly, if you of the
Iurie, pettie *Constables*, *Chiefe Constables*, and *Iustices*
of Peace, would together labour that the *Lawes*
carefully *Enacted* for our good, might receiue a
due and iust execution, abuses would then bee re-
formed, *God* and our *King* faithfully serued and ho-
nored. And the tranquillitie of our *Publicke weale*
preserued: which so great happinesse, that it may
the better be accomplished, I would request, that
all imployed in any place of authoritie, would haue
an speciall care to suppress that root of euill, from

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whence all mischiefs do proceed, and that is *Idleness*: For idle persons are those of whome the *Psalme* speaketh, *They doe wickedly all the day long, they imagine wickednesse vpon their beds, the imaginations of their hearts are euill continually*, and such for the most part are all those, giuen ouer to an idle disposition: who by their wickednes do make themselves worse then beasts: For, *Homo malus infinitis modis plura mala perpetraverit quam bestia, an euils man by an infinit manner committeth more euill then a beast*. For the reformation of which dangerous euill: you shall do well to haue an especiall eie vnto the company that frequent *Tauerns, Innes, Alehouses, Bowling allies*, and such like thriftlesse places of resort, where you shall find *Tradesmen, and Artificers*,, which haue no other meanes whereby to liue, then onely the lawfull vse of their *Science, or Manuall profession*. And yet such is their vnthritie idlenesse, as they will spend their time and labors profit, at some, or all the places before recited: whilst their wiues and children sit at home and weepe, wanting necessarie maintenance: Those of such condition, let them be enquired of and presented: For were the Iustice of the Lawe rightly executed vppon such offenders (they receiuing condigne punishment for their offence) would be inforced to betake themselves vnto a better course of life, and liue as becometh good Subiects in the list of a more commended obedience.

Of that idle company, you shall also finde some of our accounted *Gallants young Gentlemen*, vpartts,

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starts, perhaps honest yeomens sonnes, that by their intemperate *Ryote*, loue to spend their inheritance before they come to inherit, and being questioned for their chargeable and expensive manner of liuing, they will brauely answer that they spend nothing but their owne: And will seeme as if they scorn'd to be reformed by *admonition* or *authority*. The law prouideth a course whereby to teach such vain & idle *royoters* so to spend, that they may keepe their own: For when by their misdemenor all their owne is spent; Then their next course is to liue vpon the goods of others: and then at last, such Gallants turning starke knecues, do make their last period at the *Gallowes*, reaping to themselves, by an vntimely death, the fruit of idlenesse.

There is also a sort of idle seeming *Gentlemen*, whom if you do obserue, you shall find them walking with a gray-hound in a slip, or a birding peece vpon their necke, and they forsooth will make a path ouer the *Statute Lawe*, and into any mans *Groundes*, *Lordshippes*, or *Liberties*, passe and repasse at their pleasure: As if it were lawfull for euerie Fellow to keepe a *Gray-hound*, and to hunt, when and where he listeth, or as if a birding peece were no *Gunn*, and so not included in the Statute made against *Gunn*s.

But if you would finde out those Fellowes, and present them, they shall be taught to knowe themselves: And that the wisdom of a *Kingdomes* *state*, in the framing of a *Statute Law*, could not be deluded by a vaine and shallow brain'd idlenesse of their

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ridiculous Foolery. Let them be therfore punished whose misdemenor in this case offendeth.

The better to preuent the *Ryotous* expence of vn-thrifty idlenesse, you shall do well to haue a speciall care vnto the *Statute* for *Apparell*, by the neglect whereof too much abuse is nourished.

As touching all the abuses last recited, haue great respect to punish one abuse, in which all our idle *Gallants* and disordered disolutes do desire to swim, vntill themselves, and their whole *estate* do sinke, in the *Slymie dregs* of *Swinelike drunkennes*, to *drunkards* therefore haue especiall heed, you know the *Lawe* prouideth for their *punishment*, & were such offenders duly presented, *Indited*, *Fined*, & *imprisoned*, they may by such good meanes be in time haply reformed from that *contagious euill*, their continuall amisse, beeing continually with *Iustice* punished, to the vtter suppressing of such vild occasion: From whence as fro *Hels* mouth flames forth, *Ryots*, *murthers*, *man-slaughters*, *quarrels*, *fightings*, *whoredomes*, and *presumptuous blasphemies*, all proceeding from that sinke of sin, in whose sick healths is dronke the bodies *Surfiting*, and the *Soules damnation*. In this, as in all the rest of the abuses specified, vse your best indeauors for the furtherance of a settled *Reformation*, according to the *Lawes established*: For you must know, that *Vita & vigor Iuris*, in *execucione consistit*, The life and strength of the *Laws*, consisteth in the execution of them: For in vaine are iust lawes Inacted, if not iustly executed.

And now my louing *Countrey men*, because I would that all which I haue spoken, may receiue

giuen at *Norwich Assises.*

a profitable remembrance. I will thus conclude, *Similes* and *Comparisons* doe best confirme our vnderstanding: and do fastest cleaue vnto the memorie; my conclusion therefore, shall consist vpon this one *Similitude*.

There was a certain man, who hauing a great account to make vnto a mightie *King*, made triall of his best Friends, that might accompany him, in that dangerous journey, and not forsake him vntill his account were made. This man vpon his Inquisition found one friend that would go with him a great part of the way, but then forsake him. And that was his (*Riches.*) Some other Friends he found that would goe with him vntill he came in sight of the *Kings* pallace, but then they would also leaue him and beare him company no further, all these Friends were his *wife* and *children*, that would follow him to his graue. But at last, he found one Friend that would go with him into the presence of the *King*, and not forsake him, vntill he had seene his account made, and for euer beare the greatest part with him, either in woe, or happinesse, and this Friend was his *Conscience*; Deare Countrymen betwixt *God* and your *Consciences* therefore, make your peace, for he is the *King*, vnto whom all of vs must make a strickt account of all our actions done. This then considered, such would be our care, as *God* and our *King* should be obeyed, and our peace in this life, and in the world to come preferred. Vnto which eternall grace be we all in *Iesus Christ* committed.

FINIS.